VII

Early notices of the Mundurucu -- Historical records

175 [13] The Mundurucu villages are located in the valley of the mighty Tapajoz, which was discovered only 130 years ago, in 1748, when the miner João de Sousa de Azevedo traveled down the river from Mato-Grosso to Pará, carrying sixty-four drams of gold extracted from one of its tributaries which he named the Rio das Três Barras. [91]

114 131 In his Corographia Brasilica of 1817, Ayres de Cazal divided the province of Para into four large districts, bounded naturally by the four great tributaries of the Amazon, the Tocantins, the Xingu, the Tapajoz, and the Madeira. For obvious reasons of Mundurucu preponderance in the area, he gave the name of Mundurucania to the district bounded in the east by the Tapajoz, in the west by the Madeira, in the north by the Amazon and in the south by the Juruena. In describing Mundurucania, this author says that with 101 the exception of a few stretches along the banks of the rivers which bound it, the district was completely dominated by various savage nations, the best known being the Juma, the Mauê, the Pama, the Parintintin, the Mura, the Andirá, the Arara, and the Mundurucu after whom the country was named.

[302 386] "The Mundurucu," Ayres de Cazal goes on to say, "who have the custom of dyeing their bodies black with genipap, are numerous, tall, warlike, and feared by all the other nations, who give them the name of Pai-quicé, which means 'head-cutter,' owing [727] to their custom of chopping off the head of any foe who falls into their hands; and they know how to embalm it so as to preserve for many years the appearance it had on being cut.

● [622] "They adorn their crude and wretched huts with these horrid trophies. The man who can exhibit ten of them is qualified to be elected chief of the band. They know the virtues of various plants, which they use in curing certain dangerous ailments.

[648] "Nearly all Mundurucu bands are today our allies, and some are already christianized.

683 the other side of the Mission, across the stream, in the midst of
797 the woods), seeing that the envoys he had dispatched at dawn did not return, said impatiently: 'These people are no good at killing people, I'll go myself!' But when he got there he found the victim already sacrificed. They returned satisfied, leaving the body to the vultures, without giving it burial."

[622] This Capt. José da Gama, mentioned by the missionary father, had been the chief of a village which formerly stood on the banks of the Tapajoz and came with all his people to the Mission of Bacabal. His aboriginal name is Mari-Baxi; the missionary father always left him in charge of the Mission when he had to leave for any period of time. He is an energetic and bold Indian, and already before the Mission was founded he sacrificed several of his companions who had been accused of witchcraft, among them his own brother whom [109] he cast down the waterfalls with a stone tied to his neck.

If Mari-Baxi, alias José da Gama, still commits such acts in a mission which is under government supervision, we can imagine what the chiefs of the central villages may do. The above episode took place in 1875, while I was traveling beyond the Mission of Bacabal, visiting the plains villages. Upon my return I stayed two days at the Mission, where José da Gama was in charge during the absence of the missionary who had gone to the capital.

The chief greeted me with numerous tokens of regard and friendship, but said not a word about the crime he had just committed. He, as well as his accomplices, preserved the greatest secrecy on the subject. Even the missionary, who returned a few days after my stay at the Mission, only came to know the facts much later.

683 Around that time, the following episode also took place in one of the villages. Several Indian women went bathing in a
[412] brook near the village; upon returning, each carried on her head
415] a gourd of water for her household. When they least expected it, four Mundurucu came out toward them, got hold of one of the poor girls who was about eighteen years old, and pierced her with their tremendous spears. Her companions tarried a moment and

4: Horton E-4 (no date) 1948
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related to eponymous plants and animals. Sib ancestors are embodied in large ceremonial trumpets called "kaduké," which women are forbidden to see upon pain of lifelong unhappiness. Certain sibs are "related." but the nature of the relationship has not been specified. The sibs are grouped in exogamous moieties: a red moiety of 15 sibs and a white moiety of 19 sibs. A list of the sib names is given by Kruse (1934). In *Mundurucú* tradition these sibs were once warring tribes; their pacification and organization into the present tribal socety is attributed to the culture hero.

Polygyny is practiced by men of rank. Younger wives are sometimes solicited voluntarily by the elder wife. Martius reports the levirate. He also states that if a marriageable girl's father dies, and she finds no suitable husband, her mother's brother is obliged to marry her. It is perhaps corroborative evidence of this type of marriage that in the kinship terms given in Strömer's vocabulary, a woman addresses her brother and son-in-law by the same term (tapo).

Patrilocal residence is indicated by Martius' report (1867) that a woman guilty of adultery may be expelled from the house and return to her own family. According to Hartt (1885), each family's section of the communal house is identified by the family's color painted on the post of the partition. No further information about this color symbolism is given.

Each communal house is said to have its house chief and its shaman. Above house chiefs and shamans in rank are war chiefs, chiefs of subtribes (regional groups or moieties?), and a chief shaman. Bates (1892) is the only writer who mentions a paramount tribal chief. Farabee (1917 a) makes an obscure reference to differences in class between war chiefs and "civil" chiefs (house chiefs?). He also states that the sons and daughters of war chiefs intermarry.

MILITARY ORGANIZATION AND WARFARE

The central military institution was the group of warriors living in the men's house. This house and the village were constantly guarded by a patrol whose leader gave signals by means of a trumpet or flute. When a war expedition was being planned,[1] a pledge stick was passed among the warriors by the war chief. A warrior pledged himself to join the expedition by cutting a notch in the stick. When the war party got under way, absolute authority was vested in its leader.

War was generally waged during the summer dry season. Whenever feasible, each warrior was accompanied by his wife or sister, who carried his equipment, prepared food, strung hammocks, aided him if he were wounded, and assisted in the preliminary preparation of trophy heads. The women, according to most authors, took no part in the actual fighting,

[1] [Martius (source No. 3) says this occurred beforehand, in peace time. -- Analyst]

197 101 The Mundurucú are clearly distinguishable by their speech, which is, despite its Tupian affiliation, mutually unintelligible with the language of their Tupian neighbors 302 101 and with the lingua geral. However, their most outstanding outward characteristic is the elaborate body and face painting which is the hallmark of all members of the tribe.

726 701 The chief multi-village endeavor was warfare. Warfare always was waged against other tribes and never [578 619] between Mundurucú villages. The idea of violence between two Mundurucú individuals or groups is abhorrent to this people. Internecine warfare would be unthinkable. We will discuss Mundurucú warfare in more detail further in this paper, but it suffices to say here that when a war party was being organized, usually by the chief of one village, invitations to join in the expedition were also sent to several other villages. The fully organized group was led by two of the [622] chiefs of the villages participating. These were men distinguished for their accomplishments in war and were nearly always older men. The other chiefs of the participant villages had a large role in the plan of action, as did all older men, but the position of the two leaders was recognized. Inter-village cooperation was the secret of Mundurucú prowess, as they defeated and scattered every tribe in the region and launched large war parties against the Portuguese fortresses of Santarém and Gurupá[10] and ranged as far east as the territory of the Urubú Indians on the east side of the Tocantins

10. Norton, 1968, p. 273.

585 his game to the house of his bride and the products of his
591 garden went to the new household. He didn't even have to
586 move his hammock. Marriage was unstable especially in its early years before children were born to the couple. However, separation frequently occurred even between couples with two or three children. In these cases, the man went back to his old village or house affiliation and the children stayed with the mother. The commonest causes of marital breakup were laziness or infidelity on the part of the wife, in which case the husband might simply gather his hammock, weapons, and personal belongings together and leave. The same reasons on the part of the husband might cause the girl's family to turn the husband out of the household. Her relative lack of mobility made it difficult for the female to take the initiative in these cases.

595 Polygamy was not commonly practiced among the Mundurucú and the number of wives in such unions never exceeded two. It was generally confined to the chief of the village since the chief and his sons were exempt from the rules of matrilocality. The sons of the chief remained members of the father's household and their brides were incorporated into it. Usually the second wife was taken at some considerable time after the first marriage and often only when the first wife grew too old to fulfill her economic functions. A situation akin to polygamy often existed when a man took a new wife before taking his leave of the old one. These episodes were usually stormy. There was frequently bitter hostility between the two wives if they shared

614 simple geometric and slightly curvilinear designs, were
344 painted there by members of the sib depicted, at the time of the erection of the men's house.

614 The sacred trumpets, called karōkō, embodied the
534 souls of the "old people" of the sib owning them and also had their own proper souls. These spirits exerted a benevolent influence over the village, but had to be offered food and periodically played in order to maintain this protection. Each village had a set of these trumpets and each one was the property of a certain sib. No special supernatural benefits accrued to the sib owning the trumpets. They were the property of a certain sib only because they took the sib membership of the man who made them. The important thing was that they contained the spirits of "old people" and not that they embodied the ancestors of any particular sib.

614 The sibs had no particular functions in the sense of duties or privileges. They served mainly to integrate the society by firm and formalized intervillage kinship bonds. They integrated the whole tribe, but were expressed by outward symbols in the village men's house. The above mentioned arrangement of hammocks in the men's house indicates that sib and moiety membership served to integrate men from various villages. In marriage regulation, the clans were superceded by the moieties. The moieties also buried each other's dead and had certain reciprocal ceremonial duties.

● 622 Political organization

Each Mundurucú village had an hereditary chief of limited power. In addition, each house had a recognized

leader. Descent was in the patrilineal line, with the chief's brother the first in line of succession, or, if no brother was available, the chief's eldest son. One of the chief's sons-in-law who resided with him could succeed if there was no son or if the son was too young or otherwise unsuitable. The chief's sons were exempt from the rule of matrilocality and usually brought their wives to their father's house. This resolved the obvious conflict between patrilineal succession and matrilocality. It also increased the prestige of the chief, for his brothers and their daughters and husbands and his sons and daughters and their families lived in his house. The chief's extended family thus tended to be the largest in the village. The kinship bonds between the male members of the chief's family made this the most cohesive group within the village in addition to being the most populous. In cases of disagreement they could usually be counted upon to back up the chief. They formed an ingroup that was the nucleus of the village, but one towards which there was often substantial suppressed resentment.

The chief was known as the ichaagop, meaning specifically "chief," and also as the aypokakakat, or, literally, "owner of the village." The suffix "kat," in addition to denoting ownership, implies also, "one who takes charge." Thus, it is suffixed to words denoting material objects and also to names of ceremonies where leadership is clearly indicated.[19] The word for "chief" clearly conveys the latter

19. Among the Tenetehara, ceremonial leaders are also referred to as "owners" of the festivals (Wagley and Galvão, 1949, p. 123).

622 significance. The undisputed right of the chief to his position was recognized by the Mundurucú as a function of the uninterrupted occupation of the village by his family. The chief and his lineage thus gave continuity in time to the village and served as a stable element in the community, the male population of which was subject to considerable flux. The importance of the chief as a symbol of the village as a corporate entity can be derived from the attitudes of some informants who when asked why a certain village was abandoned would almost invariably reply, "The chief died" or "The chief died and there were no more old people left."

The chief's actual powers were vague. He had a position of prestige and his word was respected in decisions of a community nature, such as the choice of a new village location or the time and place of a timbó fishing trip, but he did not make unilateral decisions nor did he assume a role of direct authority at any time except in war, and then it was principally on the warpath and outside of the village that his authority was felt. The chief was generally an older man. Thus, he combined the two features of greatest importance in the Mundurucú prestige scale, age and eminence in warfare. If he happened to be a shaman, this would enhance his status even more.

623 There was no formal system of village council among the Mundurucú. The community decisions were discussed in the course of conversations in the men's house. The chief

156 tion of the village and was kept at a minimum within the family. The forceful and dominant personality was definitely [559] discouraged and, while respect was sought through warrior status and deep knowledge of Mundurucú lore, songs, and legends, nobody wished prestige as a mechanism to exert authority over others. It was assumed that the chief and the old men would express their opinions quietly and calmly and that the others would heed their counsel. However, a younger but respected man was also able to express himself [628] to some effect. Controls were not rigid but they were sufficient to the needs of the culture. Cooperation was basic [476] to the Mundurucú economy and the people were trained to it from an early age. There was no elaborate division of labor to be organized and interrelated to make a functional unit. The tasks performed for subsistence were the same that the Mundurucú had done for many generations and they were done in the same way. A solitary worker needs no directing hand nor does a group of people who are used to working as a unit. The economy did not call for elaborate political controls and the social organization certainly did not.

578 Disputes within the society were repressed. The average Mundurucú village contained its share of ill feeling and hostility, but the high interpersonal dependency made it expedient to suppress aggression. Thus, the most important 622 functions of the village chief were to lead war parties, to provide at least a small degree of central orientation to the village and to symbolize the identity of the village as an autonomous unit with continuity in past and future.

554 In addition to the glory of being an owner of a head, he was a valuable economic asset due to the share that the head exerted over game.

726 422 Warfare was an occasion upon which the position of the chief became of great importance. The young warriors depended heavily on his experience and leadership. His authority was not unlimited, but it was more fully exercised and more necessary to successful results than during any peaceful endeavor in the village.

726 181 This is only a brief sketch of Munduruc warfare for its complexity rivaled the war patterns of the North American Plains Indians. To the Munduruc, themselves, it was the most important single pursuit and characterized their way of life more than any other activity. Its results were extremely destructive to other tribes but was a source of élan and vitality in Munduruc culture.

Religion

771 The following discussion of Munduruc religion will be brief and will touch mainly on those points pertinent to the problem of socio-cultural integration. In conformity with Tropical Forest patterns, the religious system was of great simplicity. There were the typical Tupian spirits of animal, fish, and plant species, souls of the dead and certain malignant spirits.[22] Magic was simple and usually directed towards antisocial ends. The only specialist was the shaman. All the males participated in the ceremonials

22. cf. Wagley and Galvão, 1949, pp. 128-129; Oberg, 1953, pp. 83-4.

6: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1956
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women who were grating the raw tubers. Another party of women would be occupied in fetching fresh tubers from the garden. Tasks were rotated frequently. The requisite co-ordination and co-operation was facilitated by the bonds of enduring coresidence and relationship in the female line between the women of the household.

Just as property in land was of little importance due to the practice of shifting horticulture on unlimited forest land, ownership of the houses was an amorphous concept since the village was abandoned and a new one built every ten years. When the new village was built, everyone joined in building each other's houses. My male informants commonly referred to the dwelling as the property of the husband of the oldest woman of the house, while the women referred to the latter as the owner. When questioned closely, however, the men conceded that perhaps the oldest woman owned the house. Under either possibility, ownership *per se* was unimportant. The work of the household was generally directed by the oldest woman, and her husband enjoyed some prestige as its nominal leader. His exact functions were ill-defined, except for the exertion of influence over the women and his sons-in-law, since the men of the household did not normally operate as a co-operative group and the women went about their tasks without male direction. The controls of the house leader were informal and indirect. He owed his prestige position chiefly to age.

There is an obvious conflict between the patrilineal inheritance of the chieftaincy and matrilocal residence. This was resolved quite simply by allowing the son of the chief to remain patrilocal and thereby provide a continuity of residence and political control. When a younger brother or son of the former chief inherited the position, he became chief of a village in which he had been born and in which his ancestors in the male line had been born and died. The term for chief, *ewyekábat*, can be literally translated as "the owner of the village," and informants rationalized the position and title of the chief as being due to the fact that one of his lineal ancestors had first established the village. The lineal continuity of village leadership preserved integration in one respect, while weakening it in another.

An immediate consequence of the ambivalence in postmarital residence patterns was that the chief's extended family constituted a true lineage and was further augmented by the normal pattern of matrilocality through which he acquired sons-in-law. Furthermore, polygynous unions were generally a prerogative of the chief. The chief's household tended to be larger than any other in the village, and, due to the consanguineal ties of its male members, it was also the most cohesive. There is no doubt that the power of the chief was thereby considerably reinforced. During my period of residence in a Mundurucú village having substantially this structure, it was noted that there was a rather high degree of latent antagonism between the men of the chief's family and the other men of the village. The former constituted a definite ingroup within the village, which conflicted with the patterns of co-operation and egalitarianism, and which, while supporting political controls, was dysfunctional in terms of the total structure. It was not coincidental that conflict over sorcery power often revolved around the family of the chief.

6: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1956
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several clans. The result is the highly mixed membership still observable today.

The female manioc producing group became permanent and was able to incorporate and keep the girls of the household. The ownership of land did not inhibit this process, as might be expected, for forest lands were not owned under conditions of shifting agriculture. An interesting development which probably took place soon after the formation of these households of related females was that children, in the event of divorce, most often remained with the mother.

Chiefs gained importance through the trade, as they served as middlemen for the village (Bates 1863:243–244). Their added prestige enabled them to keep their sons and thereby to gain daughters-in-law for work in the gardens and in the preparation of manioc flour. It thus helped to perpetuate the patrilineal inheritance of office. In common with other groups in eastern South America, perhaps the sons of chiefs never had to submit to bride service (Lowie 1948:315). In this case, the perpetuation of patrilocality in the chief's line would have been simplified. On the basis of our knowledge of the contemporary Munduruci, however, it would not be overspeculative to surmise that the patrilocal prerogative of the chief's lineage was a point of conflict.

Finally, whatever degree of military effectiveness the Munduruci sacrificed by the breakup of the male residence-kinship group was more than compensated for by the heightened tribal integration obtained.

PATRILINEALITY TO MATRILINEALITY?

The change in residence pattern which may be deduced from our knowledge of past and present Munduruci social organization is of special significance in view of the long debate as to the priority of the matrilineate. Murdock, as has been noted, states that a "direct" transition from the patrilineate to the matrilineate is not to be expected. The basis for this position lies in his belief that in "a typical patrilineal and patrilocal community . . . the obstacles to patrilocal residence, in sum, are well-nigh insuperable" (Murdock 1949: 216–17). A functional analysis of Munduruci social structure reveals, however, that the obstacles to such a transition were surmounted. Let us review how the inhibitions on matrilocality cited by Murdock were and are handled by the Munduruci.

First, it is not too difficult to learn a new hunting territory, especially in a uniform environment and using group techniques. Even Munduruci men on short visits to other villages joined their hosts in the hunt, frequently with great success. Second, although the Munduruci practiced polygyny, monogamy was the common form of marriage. Martius (1867:383) indicated polygyny to have been confined to persons of power and status during the patrilocal period. This is not at all inconsistent with the later limitation of this custom to the chiefs, and very little actual change in patterns of polygyny probably took place. Third, the transition might have been extremely difficult had there been patrilineal ownership of land, houses, or immovable chattels. There was, however, no such ownership in either line and all male personal possessions were destroyed or buried with the body upon death. The personal

7: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1957 SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

values were supernaturally reinforced by their possession of the sacred trumpets, or *karúkó*. Each village maintained a set of three of these instruments, and they were absolutely taboo to the eyes of the women, who were thought to have once owned them.

Political controls were not elaborate. Each village had a chief, whose position was bolstered by the fact that his sons were generally exempt from the matrilocal residence rule. Although there were no patterns of continuous supravillage leadership, relations between communities were very close and involved intermarriage and joint participation in ceremonies and warfare. Tribal feeling was highly developed and conflict between villages was totally absent.

THE CONDUCT OF WARFARE

Mundurucú warfare was distinguished by a complete lack of any defensive psychology, and the Mundurucú looked upon themselves as aggressors and victors. They have been described as " . . . one of the most valorous and feared [tribes] of all the hinterland of Amazons" (Almeida Serra 1869:4), while, on the other hand, the French explorer Henri Coudreau (1897:142) wrote in righteous indignation that, "The Mundurucú practice neither justice, nor duel, nor warfare, but only assassination." This harsh judgment seems not to fit the people who extended my wife and me kindness and hospitality, and who were invariably soft-spoken, humorous, and gentle. But these same gentle people spoke at length and with great animation of their former prowess as warriors and of expeditions against other tribes in which the enemy men and women were killed and decapitated and their children stolen. Nothing about their own culture interested the Mundurucú as much as the extinct but still remembered patterns of warfare, and the older men were zealous informants on that subject.

The human world was seen by the Mundurucú to consist of two distinct spheres; there were "people" or Mundurucú, and *pariwat*, a term referring to any non-Mundurucú human. With the exception of the neighboring Apiacá Indians and the white men, all pariwat were enemies. An enemy was not merely a person to be guarded against but was a proper object of attack, and the Mundurucú pursued this end with extraordinary vigor and stamina. Before 1795 they attacked Santarém and ranged near the mouth of the Amazon to strike the fort of Gurupá. Hartt (1885:116) stated that Mundurucú war parties had penetrated into the eastern part of the province of Maranhão, where they were beaten back by "Apinagés."[2] Tocantins (1877:98) claimed that the Mundurucú knew the city of Cuyabá in Mato Grosso, and informants told of raids as far as the upper waters of the Juruena, São Manoel, and Madeira Rivers. These expeditions apparently carried the warriors over 500 miles from home and must have involved trips of well over 1,000 miles. And the Mundurucú traveled solely by foot; bark canoes were made and used only for the purpose of crossing large streams. These were exceptional journeys, but

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621 violence along lines of residential affinity, it would pit patrilineal kin against
578 each other and destroy the very fabric of the kinship structure. And if the
182 combatants aligned themselves according to kinship affiliations, strife could break out within villages and even within households. The Munduruci situation is opposite that found in some segmentary societies, in which, following Fortes' (1945:240–4) analysis, strife between kinship-territorial units of similar scope is actually productive of social equilibrium.

562 The necessity for suppressing overt conflict as the only alternative to
577 serious disruptions of social relations was complemented by the necessity for
578 male cohesion and unity in villages whose hereditary inhabitants were the women. As a result, Munduruci ethical values enjoined absolute harmony and cooperation upon all the males of the tribe. No such feeling was expected in interfemale relations. The female ingroup was limited to the membership of one or two extended families; beyond these limits, open jealousy and fighting could and did occur. This dichotomy in ethical values is understandable when one considers how different were the male and female social contexts.

578 Interpersonal and intergroup grievances will arise in all human societies
622 as a necessary concomitant of social life, and the Munduruci are no exception to this rule. Despite the surface tranquility of interpersonal relations among the males, numerous causes of latent antagonism existed. One potentially disruptive factor of especial significance to the problem at hand was that
[591] patrilineal succession to the chieftaincy was assured by exempting the chief's sons from the matrilocal rule. The extended family of the chief thus became the largest and most cohesive such unit in the village, for it retained sons while gathering sons-in-law. The presence of his own patrilineal kinsmen reinforced the chief's position, but it also resulted in antagonism and resentment on the part of the other men of the village, over whom he exerted no lineage-based authority. Evidence to support this statement can be found in contemporary Munduruci society in a number of cases of sorcery accusation and punishment. In one village the chief and his son were both slain as suspected witches. In another, the family of the chief wished to execute an accused sorcerer against the will of the other residents, and in a third village the family of the chief protected one of their number against the intention of the other villagers to execute him. No evidence of such tensions would have been manifest to the casual observer in any of the three villages; the disaffected parties usually maintain cordial and cooperative relations with their antagonists both before and after the climax of the train of events, but they generally move from the village as soon as convenient. These conflicts, then, are instrumental in furthering the fragmentation of villages under the current condition of pacification.

182 Given the potentially centrifugal nature of leadership, descent, and resi-
721 dence, warfare functioned to preserve, or at least prolong, the cohesiveness of
622 Munduruci society. The chief was able to maintain his leadership over his lineally eclectic group of followers through his position as war leader and his complementary role as mediator between them and Brazilian society. To the

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Munduruci these are the essential functions of chieftainship, and contemporary informants commonly ascribe the decline of nucleated village life to the disappearance of such attributes of leadership.

Of even greater importance to the integration of Munduruci society, warfare activated and intensified male unity and values, both of which functioned to make matrilocality viable. Finally, the only permissible intrasocietal mechanism for the release of aggression was sorcery and the killing of sorcerers, and the previously cited cases indicate that they created as many tensions as they resolved. Actually, the only way in which hostility could be unleashed without damage to the society was against the outside world. Paradoxically for a people who considered all the world as an enemy, the true cause of enmity came from within their own society.

Much of the preceding argument has hinged upon the matrilocal and patrilineal character of Munduruci society. In a recent article I showed that Munduruci social structure in the 19th century could only be understood as a result of post-contact change and that the aboriginal society was organized on patrilocal and patrilineal lines (Murphy 1956). The fact that the Munduruci were vigorous warriors before their shift to matrilocality suggests that warfare acquired new functions subsequent to that change and consequent upon it. These new functions, as they have been outlined in this paper, provide us with an understanding of how Munduruci society remained cohesive and maintained its boundaries through more than a century of contact with the whites.

We will now broaden our analysis of the function of warfare within Munduruci society to the closely related problem of its function within the structure of Munduruci-Brazilian relationships. The two bases of this symbiosis were trade and war. Matrilocality evolved as a result of trade relations with the whites, but it was workable in a patrilineal society only when intrasocietal hostilities were repressed and latent antagonisms channeled into intense warfare. Warfare and the connected ceremonies also helped to perpetuate the system of clanship in this newly-evolved-type of society, for they constituted almost the only occasions upon which corporate functions of the fragmented descent groups were exercised. Conversely, matrilocality and patrilineality provided the structure for warfare on a tribal scale and thus enabled the Munduruci successfully to pursue hostilities against comparatively undisrupted tribes during a period when their own numbers were being reduced through disease and emigration to Brazilian settlements. And by frequently undertaking raids in the service of the whites, the Munduruci had solidified their peaceful relationship with the technologically and numerically superior society. The Brazilians were willing to respect the autonomy of the Munduruci as long as it was useful to them. We may conclude that the system of of matrilocality and patrilineality and the institution of warfare were mutually reinforcing and served to maintain Munduruci society during a period that witnessed the disappearance or dissolution of many of their neighbors.

8: Murphy & Steward E-5 (1952-1953) 1956
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unimportant. Otherwise, the husband visited his household for purposes of sex, to play with the children, or to take a between-meals snack. 543

Marital breakups caused no great social maladjustment. The women and her children simply lived on in the household and took another husband. If the ex-husband was originally from the same village, he did not even have to move his hammock from the man's house. The husband and wife performed no economic tasks together, and the normal division of labor operated mainly within the context of the village as a whole rather than the nuclear family. [542]

The yearly cycle of activity of the pre-rubber period Munduruú was not patterned by wet and cold seasons as in Labrador, but by rainy and dry periods. At the end of each rainy season, April on the upper Tapajós River, the trees and vegetation in each projected garden were felled by a work party composed of all the men of the village and allowed to dry out. After clearing the forest, many families went in small groups to the larger streams where fishing was good during low waters and where they could hunt the many game animals which left the interior forests to feed and drink at the streams. 231 241 [224 225]

After two to three months it was necessary to return to the village to burn the felled vegetation in the garden clearings before the first rains set the forests. After the early rains had sufficiently moistened the ground, individual gardens were planted to manioc by the cooperative efforts of all the men and women of the village. Other vegetables were planted by the women of the household of the man who initiated the gardens, and who was formally considered to own it.

Maize, squash, beans, and other vegetables were harvested by January or February and eaten immediately. The root crops, including bitter and sweet manioc, matured at the end of the rainy season in new gardens. A longer period of detoxification was required for root crops in replanted gardens. Bitter and sweet manioc can be harvested as needed; this natural storage made these crops invaluable for year-around subsistence.

The bitter manioc, by far the most important garden product, required considerable labor to render it edible. The tubers were grated, the prussic acid was extracted by use of the tipiti, or basketry press, and the pulp was then toasted either in the form of the native farinha, a fine manioc cake, or of farinha, the coarse Brazilian manioc flour. Farinha was sold to Brazilian traders. All phases of manioc processing were carried out by the women of the extended family household, who worked together under the direction of the oldest woman of the house. The labor was divided according to specialized tasks which, however, probably contributed as much towards making the operation pleasant as efficient. 252 [434]

Farinha was thus a collective product in that it involved the communal labor of the village in garden clearing and manioc planting, and the efforts of the women of the household in processing. Moreover, it was sold to the traders by the village as a whole and not by individuals. In this barter the hereditary village chief represented the village, and the proceeds from the sale were divided equally among the contributing households. 476 439 [423]

Bates, the British naturalist, describes the ends in which this trade was conducted in the mid-nineteenth century, when the first small quantities of rubber were traded by the Munduruú along with larger amounts of other products: 439

> "They [the Munduruú of the upper Tapajós River] make large plantations of manioc, and sell the surplus produce, which amounts on the Tapajos to from 3000 to 5000 hectets (60 lbs. each) annually, to traders who ascend the river from Santarem between the months of August and January. They

Despite the flourishing trade in gewgaws, the allure of most trade goods lay more in their sheer utility than in their exotic qualities. The increased efficiency of the Munduruku economy made possible by steel tools must have been enormous.

The parallels in these basic processes of acculturation between the Munduruku and the Montagnais are probably to be found also among most aborigines. In the case of the Munduruku, the displacement of aboriginal crafts by commercial goods better suited to meet local needs, both old and new, inexorably led to increased dependency of the people upon those who furnished these goods and therefore to a greater involvement in economic patterns external to their own culture.

The Munduruku families, like those of the Algonkians, became appendants of the trading posts. More than a century ago, Bates related that Brazilian traders made seasonal expeditions to trade with the Munduruku. After rubber became important in the Amazon, permanent trading posts were established on the upper Tapajós River. These posts, whether owned by individuals or companies, exercised such control over tracts of rubber-producing forest that they compelled the rubber collector to trade exclusively with them. They accomplished this by their power of dispossession and by holding the collector in debt. The traders among the Munduruku were never able to obtain title of ownership to the rubber regions within Munduruku country proper,[2] but they made the Indians dependent upon them in a very real sense through their credit arrangements. In time, all of the Munduruku villages came under the control of various traders, who were so influential by virtue of being necessary to the Indians that they were able to appoint the chiefs, in violation of Indian tradition, and thereby intensified their control over the Indians.

The progressive weakening of the hereditary chief, whose authority was based upon aboriginal activities, was furthered by the decline in warfare. The pacific warfare, although frequently mercenary in character and auxiliary to European conquest and expansion, continued the native pattern of authority. The Indians were paid in trade goods. When, at the end of the nineteenth century, the central Amazon region had been pacified, the military role of the Munduruku was no longer needed. Meanwhile, rubber collecting had become the principal means by which the Indians acquired foreign trade articles. Since the Indians were important to rubber production in labor-starved Amazonia, they were pushed to greater efforts by the traders. Increased devotion of the Munduruku to rubber production correspondingly interfered with their warfare; for in earlier times the rubber season was the time for war. When in 1914 a Franciscan mission was established in their midst, the earlier political and economic basis of Munduruku warfare was so undermined that the admonitions of the priests that they live in peace were quite effective.

At the end of the second stage of Munduruku acculturation, only bonds of kinship and economic collectivity in producing food for the group held Munduruku society together. Much of the old structure was gone. The chieftaincy had been undermined, warfare had ended, and reliance upon the outside economy was taking effect. During the nineteenth century, increasing numbers of Munduruku who had difficulties with their co-residents were able to leave their villages permanently. Many others left in order to participate more fully in the rubber economy.

Full dependency upon rubber collection is not compatible with village life. Since the aboriginal Munduruku villages were located several days foot travel from the rubber areas fringing the rivers, a family participating both in collective village life and the rubber economy had to migrate seasonally between its village and its troops in the rubber area. Families living in this manner could spend only three to four months in rubber production. The only way the Indians can devote their full efforts to rubber tapping is to leave the villages of the interior savannah and live permanently near the rubber trees along the river banks. A large

8: Murphy & Steward E-5 (1952-1953) 1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13
Montagnais M46

M4 178 621

to the disorganization of Curuá River society. The political authority of appointed "chiefs" was now a means of extending the influence of the whites. The continuing migration of young men from the remaining primitive villages of the savannahs caused an oversupply of men on the Curuá River, and conflicts over women became rife. Owing to the endless squabbles in villages which had lost their aboriginal basis of integration, dissidents moved off to live at their rubber crosses or formed new and smaller villages. This fission process is still going on. Concomitantly, the Mission and the Indian Post are becoming more important as focal points in a new mode of integration of the Mundurucú. Over one-third of the Curuá River population make their rainy season homes at these agencies, which serve as centers of trade and of social and religious gatherings. It is from the Post and Mission, also, that the lines of authority now radiate.

M4 [578]

IV. Comparative Summary

M4 Mo 177 171 437 452

The accompanying table and chart present the major phases of acculturation in summary form, as abstracted from the historical continua. The basic acculturative factors in both cases exerted parallel influences, although the two societies were substantively different until the final culmination was reached. There were four causal factors common to each. First, both became involved in a mercantile, barter economy in which the collector of wild products was tied by bonds of debt and credit to particular merchants. Such involvement also occurred widely among native peoples who produced crops or livestock. This arrangement must be distinguished from cash transactions, in which, owing to the impersonality of money as a medium of exchange, the primary producer has greater freedom of choice as to with whom he will deal. In a pure credit-barter economy, all transactions are based on a personal relationship between the principals: the merchant must be able to rely upon the continued patronage of the primary producer whereby the latter liquidates past debts while assuming new ones. It seems to be a basic procedure that the pre-literate Indian is kept in debt by the trader. While the latter can manipulate accounts at will, and no doubt is frequently guilty of malfeasance, he usually allows the Indian to buy beyond his means. The debtor-producer in selling his future production, and the creditor still not extend payment unless assured of delivery. Where such an economy is found, it is common for merchants to refuse to deal with primary producers who are in debt to another merchant. This is a "gentleman's agreement" in the Amazon, although it is frequently violated by unscrupulous traders. Second, the growing ties of dependency upon the traders are at the expense of collective bonds within the respective societies. Reliance upon individuals and institutions outside the native social system are intensified by a steady increase in demand and need for manufactured goods. This, as we have seen, goes beyond the mere initial allure of Western tools and ornaments. Luxuries soon became necessities--a process that can be found in our own culture. Third, while crude latex and animal furs are very unlike articles, they imply a common cultural-ecological adaptation. Both are natural products having a reliable occurrence in worthwhile quantity within an area which can be most efficiently exploited by one man. Both require conservation, for careless exploitation can seriously reduce the number of furbearing animals, or render rubber trees worthless. The producer has an incentive to maintain the productivity of his resources. Finally, both rubber trees and fur animals are sufficiently dispersed to require that persons exploiting them live or work at some distance from one another.

M4 Mo [434] M4 Mo [433]

These factors of change were essentially the same among both Mundurucú and Montagnais, and they were introduced through contact with the outside world. Their initial effects upon the aboriginal cultures were somewhat dissimilar, owing to aboriginal differences between the two groups. Whereas the Mundurucú chief served at first as intermediary with the trader, this seems not to have been true of the Montagnais chief. Montagnais family heads, however, traded on behalf of their sons. For a short time, this pattern was followed by many

Mo M4 171 177 439 622

[text continues on p. 349]

8: Murphy & Steward E-5 (1952-1953) 1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13
Montagnais NH6

Mo

Mundurucú (cont.)	Montagnais (cont.)
village held together only by tabooing kin ties and sociability. Centripetal factors (e.g., sorcery, sexual rivalry) cause fission of these villages and results in 3 below.	Emergence of a chief who serves as intermediary with Indian agents and missionaries. Nuclear family basic unit at all times of year. Trapper maintains and transmits right to a delimited hunting territory exploited only by his family.
B. Dispersal (follows upon 3 or 4) Leadership no longer integrative Individual trade undercuts kin obligations. Conflict with agricultural cycle resolved by moving to rubber avenue—family now in isolation except for trade bonds.	

Mundurucú during the period immediately after the Mundurucú chief had ceased to act as intermediary with the trader. After the breakdown of extended kinship bonds in both groups, individuals traded completely on their own.

The native kinship organization persisted longer among the Mundurucú than among the Montagnais, and this has been a factor in perpetuating village life today among the less acculturated Indians east of the Tapajós River. Aboriginal Mundurucú kinship structure was more extensive and socially integrative than that of the Montagnais. Moreover, the aboriginal production of subsistence crops survives even among Mundurucú families living in isolation in their rubber avenues. The Mundurucú still produce all their own subsistence, although there are some changes in emphasis, technique, and organization.

The Brazilian rubber tapper—a white man who has gone into the forest or the Indian of mixed blood who is completely acculturated and enmeshed in the mercantile economy—usually buys all his food from the trader and devotes the season when he could be growing his own food to tapping rubber or to working off his debt to the trader by performing personal services. At present, we know of only one case of a Mundurucú who bought most of his food, but we can confidently predict that, as the population becomes more acculturated toward dependency in all ways upon the larger society, an ever-increasing number will buy food. When they are no longer able to feed themselves by their own efforts, they will have effectively become caboclos, or neo-Brazilian backwoodsmen.

The acculturative factors operated in two somewhat different ways among both the Mundurucú and Montagnais. First, they created a succession of modifications in the native societies, which gradually converged toward typological identity in the final family level. Second, during this evolution of the total groups they produced deviant families which broke away from their fellow tribesmen to devote themselves entirely to tapping or trapping. It was not until the processes had nearly reached their culmination that the surviving but greatly modified native society began to disintegrate.

Among the Mundurucú the bonds of leadership and kinship had undergone a steady and slow attrition during one hundred years. The end of warfare had robbed Mundurucú culture of a great deal of its vitality, and the chief was reduced to a mere figurehead, manipulated by the trader and the religious and governmental agencies. Work in the rubber avenues and dependence upon the trader had served to sever and weaken ties within the society. At the final point of transition to isolated residence, and total divorce from traditional communal life, the Mundurucú were not much more closely integrated than the Montagnais.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

Attendance at church services is always greatest on such special holy days as Christmas, Easter, and the feast of St. Francis, the patron of the mission. The nuns serve refreshments to the participants, and dances are held in the houses of the Munduruci who reside at the mission. These occasions unite hundreds of people and thus serve as the social equivalents of the now defunct tribal ceremonies devoted to the game-animal spirits.

Most Munduruci ceremonies are no longer practiced by any segment of the population. The priests have made special efforts to discourage the practice of native rites in those Cururú River villages under their influence, and only the ceremony to regain stolen souls is still held. This rite requires the participation of only three or four shamans and two men who possess knowledge of certain songs, and is held in the closed house of the sick person. It is thus quite easily concealed from the attention of the priests, and the rites have been held in houses only a stone's throw from the priests' residence. Ceremonies involving a large number of participants have fallen out of practice, even among the more traditional savannah dwellers, who are not readily responsive to the dictates of the priests. As in the case of warfare, it is obvious that culture change was on the side of the missionaries and that their efforts were not the crucial factor in the decline of these aspects of Munduruci culture. On the other hand, more individualized religious practices are still quite active among the Munduruci. The priests recognize the psychological value of shamanism and have made little effort to inhibit its practice. They are quite realistic as to its tenacity among not only the Indians but the Neo-Brazilian population of the Amazon. But the position of the missionaries is of necessity ambiguous, for the ideological basis of shamanism is inextricably connected with the concepts surrounding sorcery, to which they are adamantly opposed. Frequent sermons are delivered against belief in witchcraft as the cause of illness, and the priests are extremely severe with those of their parishioners who take part in sorcery killings. Their efforts in this direction have had the net effect of causing the Munduruci to withhold information on their religious beliefs, but it can be confidently stated that even the most acculturated Munduruci believe firmly in witchcraft.

One of the more interesting facets of contemporary Munduruci culture on the Cururú River is the general indifference of the people to Christian beliefs, in spite of their acceptance of the mission as an institution. There can be no denial of the fact that the priests are greatly respected by the Munduruci and have great power among them. Chieftaincy in the Cururú villages is dependent upon recognition by the missionaries, and the major function of the chiefs is to act as intermediaries between the villages and the mission. The priests continually recruit children for the mission school in spite of the passive resistance of their parents, and they are able to bring considerable coercion to bear upon individuals through their economic power. But the Indians are only nominally Christians in spite of this influence and the intensive catechization to which they are exposed.

The following chapters describe the manner in which the Indians have integrated and syncretized Christianity into their own belief system. This process

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

upper Tapajós began to supplement their sporadic income as warriors with the proceeds of trade. The early commerce with these Indians was carried on entirely by the itinerant traders, *regatões*—as late as 1852, there were no permanent Brazilian settlements south of Itaituba.[20] The region was still only occasionally penetrated by Brazilians, and trade was too small to warrant permanent commercial posts. The regatões served the purpose, traveling throughout the region in canoes of from five to ten tons capacity, selling the merchandise that they carried aboard, and receiving garden and forest products in return. Bates described this early trade as follows:

> They [the Mundurucú of the upper Tapajós] make large plantations of manioca and sell the surplus produce, which amounts on the Tapajós to from 3000 to 5000 baskets (60 lb. each) annually to traders who ascend the river from Santarem between the months of August and January. They also gather large quantities of sarsaparilla, india-rubber, and Tonka beans, in the forests. The traders, on their arrival at the Campinas (the scantily wooded region inhabited by the main body of Mundurucús beyond the cataracts) have first to distribute their wares—cheap cotton clothes, iron hatchets, cutlery, small wares, and cashaca—amongst the minor chiefs and then wait three or four months for repayment in produce.[21]

As Bates noted, the trade was not conducted between individuals but between the trader and the village chiefs. The regatão gave merchandise to the chief and told him what he wanted in exchange; it was the chief's duty to exhort his people to production and, also, to distribute the trade goods among them. The people themselves had little or no contact with the traders, and only the chief had an account. It seems almost unnecessary to say that the exploitation of the illiterate Indians was extreme and that

[20] Bates, 1863, p. 233.
[21] *Ibid.*, pp. 243-244.

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

Mundurucú were also being pressed into household servitude by the whites,[24] a practice common to all of Amazonia at that time. Many Mundurucú accompanied their patrons to work in different regions, and others remained all year at their rubber avenues in the valley of the Tapajós. Illustrative of this spread of Mundurucú over the upper Tapajós region are Coudreau's figures, which give the Mundurucú population of the banks of the upper Tapajós in 1895 as 173; of the Juruena-Bararaty rivers, 72; and of the São Manoel River, 49.[25] All these scattered Mundurucú were living in Brazilian-type houses with an average population of ten in each house. This process was obviously a continuation on a local scale of the earlier spread of the Mundurucú to the lower Tapajós and the Madeira tributaries.

The population of the savannah villages decreased during this period because of death from disease and loss of people to the river banks. However, the villages themselves persisted as strong social units. Two factors are mainly responsible for this: First, the chieftain, instead of losing function, actually became more important, and for some time the villages became politically more tightly integrated. The chief now had the additional position as intermediary with the white man and as such was the source of trade goods; the modern Mundurucú still speak of the days when chiefs were strong and bought everything for the people." After the patrons became firmly established and gained influence among the Indians, they began to appoint their own "chiefs," frequently without regard for the traditional system of inheritance. In time, as will be seen, this undermined the chieftaincy and became a source of conflict. Second, warfare, for both mercenary

[24] Ibid., p. 143.
[25] Coudreau, 1897, p. 166.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
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Second, warfare, for both mercenary pay and trophy heads, persisted on a somewhat reduced scale and was especially successful, as Hartt notes, because of the acquisition of firearms.[84] The continuance of warfare helped to maintain the cohesion of the tribe and village as social units for the reasons already discussed, and also because it bolstered the positions of the chiefs by activating their roles as war leaders.

The Mundurucú who remained in their traditional villages in the savannahs east of the upper Tapajós were not as completely absorbed into the invading Brazilian society as the people who migrated to the river banks to tap rubber. But they, too, sought trade goods, and these, increasingly, were available only through rubber production. The most troublesome tribes of the region were largely pacified, and the demand for Mundurucú military service had consequently declined. Also, the Indians were more valuable to the traders in collecting rubber, which by the end of the century was netting the traders fabulous monetary returns. The recruitment of Indians into rubber collecting did not cause the immediate disintegration of their village life. Rubber was collected by them only from June to September, during which period they left their savannah villages to live in temporary shelters at their rubber avenues. This seasonal fractionation of the society had a precedent in the traditional practice of scattering along the streams to hunt and fish during the dry season. As in times past, when rubber collection was finished, the dispersed population reunited in their villages, where the native round of activities persisted throughout the remaining nine months of the year.

The Mundurucú territory also shrunk, for traditional-type villages no longer existed on the waters of the Creporý River in 1895 when Coudreau ascended the Ta-

[84] Hartt, 1885, p. 131.

614 expected to show warmth, support, and hospitality to each other; they are "brothers" and are expected to act accordingly. These obligations are discharged when a Munduruú is called upon to do so. He seldom meets more than a few of his clan fellows in the course of everyday life, however, and the opportunity for the exercise of expected behavior toward any large number of fellow clansmen rarely arises. This follows from the results of matrilocality and also from the contemporary rarity of gatherings involving people of several villages. The latter factor is of [619] some importance, for multivillage participation in warfare and ceremony was the distinguishing feature of Munduruú tribal integration in times past.

611 The patrilineal principle of descent has contemporary
622 significance beyond the inheritance of clan membership. Chieftaincy is ideally transmitted in the male line; the eldest son of the chief is considered the appropriate heir, but the office may also be passed to a brother or a younger son. In order to accommodate patrilineal inheritance to the continuity of village leadership, the sons of village chiefs are generally exempt from the matrilocal rule. Also,
611 shamanistic power is believed to be inherent in certain
756 people from birth and is inherited only through the father. Whole family lines are recognized as shamans, whether or not they actually practice the art.

428 Shamanism and chieftaincy are the only important in-
768 heritable offices. All portable personal property is destroyed on the death of the owner. Houses, which are abandoned every ten years, are not inherited, and there is no private or group property in land.

MARRIAGE

584 Entry into a marital compact is an extremely simple affair among the Munduruú. A young man in search of a mate

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

ever, and the village plaza and the surrounding underbrush become dense and the lair of snakes and scorpions. As a result of this rapid decay, a new village is built every ten years, but, since the people live in the old one while building the new, it is usually constructed nearby. The remains of four old villages, representing about forty years of occupation, can be discerned within a half mile of the present location of Cabruá. Gradual exhaustion of the more favored forest lands and the necessity of walking ever farther to the gardens eventually forces a move to the vicinity of fertile soil. Accordingly, the people of Cabruá decided during our stay to build a village on a site some two miles away, and they planned to start construction during the following rainy season.

The village of Cabruá and its households have suffered greatly from depopulation because of disease and emigration. Although many of its residents had not made definite plans, at the time of our departure the new village probably would have had no more than three households, for several people were considering migration to the Tropas and Cabitutú rivers. At its site in 1953, Cabruá had five dwelling houses. One was deserted, for the previous inhabitant had lost a son through an accident, and this was interpreted by the shamans to be the result of the family's inattention to their ritual duty to the sacred trumpets. The family left for another village before the trumpet spirits could exact further revenge.

The household of the chief included 17 people, and the largest house unit of the village had a population of 28. The other two houses of the village numbered 8 and 16 people. These groups constituted matrilocally-based extended families, although the continual flux and constant loss of population in recent times has disturbed this organization.

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

583 whom he desires, he goes off to other villages in search of
[584] a mate. He will find the new men's houses in which he will stay to be organized along the same lines as the one in which he had been incorporated. And just as his strongest ties during adolescent years were to his age mates and the
[582] occupants of the men's house, so also will he find his primary association to be with the men of the village, as a whole.

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

592 621 Patrilineal descent and matrilocal residence without village endogamy give the Mundurucú an unusual social structure. This is also manifest in the realm of political organization. The oldest man of each household is nominally considered to be its leader, but I never saw the "leader" intervene in the over-all direction of women's activities, except to inform them when a consignment of farinha was promised to a trader. The actual direction of household activities is generally in the hands of its oldest woman, commonly the wife of the leader. The female director of the household exerts considerable influence over the other women because of her age and her senior status under ideally matrilocal conditions as older sister, mother, and grandmother to them. Her husband is respected by the members of the household, and by the rest of the people of the village, but he is peripheral to its main activities.

554 621 House leaders, as all older men, usually occupy high positions on the village prestige scale. Shamans are accorded
[782] considerable standing, and any man who is serious in demeanor and possesses a large store of traditional knowledge is well regarded. The highest position in the
622 554 village, however, is that of the chief. Considerable confusion surrounds the contemporary status of chieftainship because of historical changes in methods of selection and

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
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in the powers and duties of the office. Older informants said that chiefs formerly inherited the office either from their father or older brother. Lineal continuity of the chieftaincy in a village was ensured by the general exemption of most of the chief's sons from the rule of matrilocality. The chief, although never authoritarian or possessed of coercive powers among the Mundurucú, was nonetheless an important figure in the community. His was the most prominent voice in any collective decisions affecting the village as a whole; he frequently led war parties, and he represented the village in commercial or other relations with the whites. His position was reinforced in a number of ways. He was generally selected from the available and possible heirs because he had distinguished himself as a warrior through taking trophy heads and was the repository of love and songs. And the patrilocality of the chief's family allowed him to build a strong kin group composed of sons and sons-in-law. This exemption from the normal residence rule also legitimized the line due to the genealogical continuity of the family within the village. Thus, the chieftaincy symbolized the village as a continuing entity. Furthermore, his special relations with the whites and his role of intermediary, in which he sold the trade commodities gathered by the villagers and distributed the returns among them, did much to enhance his status.

The Mundurucú look upon their contemporary village chiefs with mixed feelings. The chief is often personally respected and liked by the people, but they simultaneously feel the office to be inconsequential and of little importance today. And they quite frequently look upon their particular leader as an illegal occupant of the position. Also, the role of chief is commonly a center of latent hostility and factionalism. This change has come about through the disappearance of the more integrative aspects

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

of the chieftaincy and the persistence and aggravation of certain disruptive features.

First, the Mundurucú chief no longer holds the all-important position of war leader. Second, he now trades on behalf of his village in theory only. In the nineteenth century the trading function of the chief tended to bolster his traditional powers and some became well-known figures in the Tapajós valley. As the rubber trade grew in importance, the control of the chiefs became increasingly important to those traders who monopolized the Indian commerce. Since this period corresponded with the declining days of warfare, some traders were able to install their own appointees as village chiefs where the rightful holder of the office was unsuitable to them. Besides, traders occasionally took Mundurucú to Belém, where they were introduced to government functionaries and awarded the title of *capitão*. These new luminaries were sent back to their villages and assigned the task of representing the trader. Thus, legitimate lines of succession were broken, and the new chiefs owed their positions to the trader. The villagers were well aware of this.

The general patrilocality of the chief's family, no matter by what means he was selected, continued; his extended family remained the largest such unit in the village and, more important, was the only significant group of close male, patrilineal relatives. The rest of the village men were of diverse affiliations and found expression within the context of men's-house activities. But they were faced with a powerful kin group in which political authority was vested. If points of difference arose, the men of the chief's group rallied to his support, but antagonisms were aroused among the other men. In former times, the important functions served by the chieftainship undoubtedly overrode the potential factionalism inherent in this situation, but, in

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
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the new setting, the position was stripped of legitimate succession and divested of the attributes that commanded greatest respect. The strength of the chief's group thus became a sore point in village life.

These problems are amply illustrated by the contemporary chieftaincies of the savannah villages of Cabruá and Cabitutá. Until two years before my investigation, an old Mundurucú whose Portuguese name is Caetano had been chief in the village of Cabitutá. He did not occupy the office by patrilineal succession, but was appointed by a trader who maintained exclusive dealings with the villagers. The residents of Cabitutá respected and accepted Caetano because of his age and the fact that he was not aggressive in promoting the interests of the trader. When the old chief of Cabruá, who possessed the office legitimately, died, the trader decided to shift Caetano from Cabitutá to Cabruá and to install Caetano's son in the vacancy created. The latter, a young man named Biboi, had been raised by the trader. In contrast to the usual unassertive, retiring, cooperative, and nonaggressive Mundurucú conduct, Biboi was loud and vociferous in his claim to be "the only one in Cabitutá who knows how to tell the people to work and who can deal with the trader." The villagers looked upon an older man, who was also a shaman, as the rightful possessor of the office and regarded Biboi as a usurper and tool of the trader. They [redacted] to kill him, but refrained because of respect for his father, Caetano, and his family. To kill Biboi would have caused endless trouble, and the Mundurucú assiduously avoid such situations.

In the meantime, Caetano's tenure of the chieftaincy of Cabruá was somewhat uneasy. More than one-third of the men residing in the village did business with another trader than the one who had made the appointment, and

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

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they felt that Caetano did not represent them. Furthermore, one of these men was the son of the former chief, and many villagers confided that he, and not Caetano, was the rightful leader. One of Caetano's sons, a stepson, and a son-in-law also lived in the village, however, and he had too much support for any effective opposition that would not develop into open conflict. That the position of the chief was not a source of open strife is due not only to the strength of the chief's family but to the contemporary weakness of the office. Large-scale joint activities, such as inter-village ceremonies and warfare, no longer exist, and situations that demand firm authority are rare. Cooperative economic endeavors among the men are freely entered into within the framework of the men's organization. Thus, Caetano seldom was compelled to issue orders and formulate policies that would affect the entire village. Also, as in Cabitutú, Caetano was respected because of his age and his cultivation of Mundurucú tradition.

Despite the relative placidity of politics in Cabruá, as contrasted to Cabitutú, there were several points of tension. Shortly after Caetano assumed the chieftaincy, the men of Cabruá accused his stepson of sorcery and planned to kill him. But the chief and his kinsmen intervened, and the man's life was spared. Relations remained strained between the two factions, although the everyday behavior of the principals showed no evidence of this.

The situation of Bibzi in Cabitutú was precarious. During our stay, his father fell from a palm tree and seemed badly injured. Bibzi immediately left Cabitutú to rush to [illegible] side. He was motivated partly by filial devotion, but he also knew that his life would be in jeopardy if the old man died as a result of the injuries. He explained to us that in this event, he would move to the Tapajós River. When asked why he blandly evaded his true motives and

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said, "Because it is beautiful there." Caetano recovered, and the unpopular Biboi returned to Cabituté.

Today, the role of the chief as intermediary for his village with the traders is a fiction. The intricate trading system of Cabruá will be discussed below, but it must be mentioned here that the traders weigh each man's rubber production separately and give him his own credit, and each person's purchases are also separately charged to his own account. But all transactions are conducted in the presence of the chief, and he voices his followers' requirements of merchandise. Since it is convenient to the interests of the traders that the people feel they owe to the chief, the latter is charged with the combined accounts of his followers, and he is therefore expected to encourage their productivity. Despite this ruse, persons who are deeply in debt are refused further credit while those with only a small debt or a credit are given merchandise. The fiction of the chief's position is partly maintained, however, which tends to integrate his body of immediate followers. But the people understand, however imperfectly, that their fortunes and those of the chief are not identical and that the hard worker receives goods while the shirker does not, no matter how much the chief is said to owe.

The ultimate effect of trade probably will be to individualize commercial transactions further, and the office of chief will then lose almost all function. Its contemporary weakness, combined with the factionalism latent in the creation of patrilineages in a matrilocal society, have made it the center of controversy. However, the chieftaincy continues to symbolize the identity of the village, and, despite its stormy aspects, the decline of the institution is directly related to the progressive disorganization of village life.

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
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as the single permissible occasion on which violence was condoned. Kluckhohn's[9] view is well founded that the sorcerer's practice and his execution are cathartic for him and the society, but it is still significant that aggression is released within the society and not outside. This would not disrupt a society that enjoyed other and stronger bases of solidarity, and it might well promote integration; but the result among the modern Munduruc6 has been the intrusion of sorcery accusations into factional disputes and frequent failure to obtain agreement on executions. Thus, not only shamans but disaffected persons also leave village life.

Conflicts between persons and groups are not always connected with witchcraft. The Munduruc6 men commonly engage in clandestine escapades with the wives of others. The injured husband does not court open conflict against the adulterer, however, and resentments are generally well contained. Another cause of hostility is the numerical and social strength of the chief's family and the question of the legitimacy of his succession. The only recourse left to dissident parties is to withdraw from the situation. They may go to another village, which was a common means of resolving the situation in the nineteenth century also, or they may move to permanent residence at their rubber avenue, which today happens more frequently. The choice of the latter alternative may end the tension, but the severance of social relations obviously disrupts integration, especially when it occurs frequently.

Social tensions commonly cause people to leave their villages. Concomitantly, there has been a progressive weakening of the bonds that hold them. The diminished size of the extended family has made the matrilocality on which it is based more vulnerable to situational factors

[9] Kluckhohn, 1944.

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
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owned, though freely borrowed, but the two most costly items, the copper-toasting pan and the grater, are considered to be the property of the chief, since they were purchased through his and his extended family's labor. The large copper-toasting pan is necessary to the production of farinha, and the grater, although easily substituted by a hand grater, facilitates greatly one of the most onerous steps in the manufacturing process. 252 422 415 [622]

Political organization is almost nonexistent on the Cururú. The informal council of elders that operated in the context of the men's house is no longer present, and the importance of self-interest as opposed to community interest has increased greatly with the emphasis on rubber trading and the failure to perpetuate cooperative patterns. Missão Velha has a chief, José, who owes his position primarily to recognition by the mission, but who is also accorded some deference because of his age and his status as one of the earliest occupants of the village. The chief takes his status seriously and behaves with dignity. Despite his personal prestige, however, his functions are almost nil. Since collective action seldom occurs in Missão Velha, his influence is felt primarily in his extended family, which is the largest kin group in the village and includes sons-in-law as well as sons. This tendency for the chief to keep his sons nearby while attracting sons-in-law represents a continuation of the savannah pattern and of the ideal of patrilineal inheritance of the position. Although the chief's status was thereby strengthened in Missão Velha, the validity of his position was questioned by many residents. When informants were asked about the duties and responsibilities of the chief the usual answer was, "Today 'chief' is only a word. In the old days we had real chiefs who bought things for the people." Residents of Missão Velha who were not of the chief's family were 623 412 622 554 [797] [476]

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
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622 554 162 ironical in their replies to the question of how José achieved his present status. Typical answers were, "Ask the priests," or, "Only José knows."

554 578 622 797 This ill-concealed resentment toward José is less indicative of personal animosity than of hostility toward his family and the mission, which José is considered to represent. Mission policy is obviously to recognize as chiefs persons of some prestige who are friendly toward the priests and Christianity and who can be depended upon to make known the priests' wishes and urge acceptance of them. As for José, this policy entails favoritism toward him and his family, which his sons and sons-in-law and their wives reciprocate by currying favor with the priests and bearing stories of the peccadilloes of the villagers. The people are well aware of José's status as an instrument of the mission and, for this reason, do not recognize him as a true chief. This hostility toward José and his followers causes, in part, the factionalism to be discussed later.

The priests, despite their policy of recognizing certain men as chiefs, generally bypass them and deal with the people individually in matters of trade, religion, and family. The net result is to relieve a source of potential conflict by making it unnecessary for the chief to intervene on behalf of the mission in individual cases, as opposed to general support of mission policy. But the importance of the chieftaincy in its role as intermediary with the mission, which is its only function, is thereby diminished. In passing, it should be noted that in some upstream villages, where mission influence is weaker than in Missão Velha, there are no formally recognized chiefs.

756 [758] [753] Shamanism is the only element of the native religion that is still practiced on the Cururú. Although the Indians seek medical aid at the mission and the Indian post, this has not made serious inroads on the art of the shaman, for

13: Murphy E-5 (1954-1955) 1961 SQ13 Munduruca SQ13

DEVIANCY AND SOCIAL CONTROL I: WHAT MAKES BIBOI RUN

Robert F. Murphy

I

Biboi, the young chief of the Munduruci[1] village of Cabitutú, visited the village of Cabrua with great frequency. So frequently in fact that he once made the ten hour round-trip in one day. Inquiry revealed that Biboi was on the horns of a dilemma. Though he was chief of Cabitutú, he kept a young and pretty wife in the house of his father, the chief of Cabrua. Whenever he visited his wife, his 'followers' in Cabitutú busied themselves in plotting against him. Hearing of these threats to his authority, he would immediately dash back to reassert his position of leadership. But as soon as he was out of sight of Cabrua, the men of that community sought to tarnish the virtue of his wife; this was not a difficult task, and half the men of the village ultimately enjoyed her favors. Their exploits were well publicized, and Biboi, hearing of his cuckoldry, would hurriedly retrace his steps. During most of the time we lived in Cabrua, Biboi gravitated between the two communities—to the great amusement and deep satisfaction of his fellow Munduruci.

On the lowest level of explanation, I have already stated what makes Biboi run. But the key questions of why the men of Cabitutú plotted against him and why those of Cabrua pursued his wife can only be answered through an analysis of Munduruci society and culture and of Biboi's position within it. For Biboi was a marginal man trying to play traditional social roles to which he had not been socialized, and he failed to define correctly the nature of the role expectations or the values that pertained to specific social situations. His cumulative blunders finally threatened the stability of this small society, and certain processes were set in motion to reëstablish the normal flow of social interaction. Anthropologically, this is a study in deviancy and social control. Humanistically, it is a tragedy but, like many tragedies, one that has overtones of comedy.

II

Biboi's personality was most deviant, and I shall spell this out in terms of his manifest behavior, as it compared with the normal behavior of Munduruci men and their chiefs. I know nothing of the socialization of Biboi, only that at an early age he went to live in the household of a local Brazilian who traded in the village headed by Biboi's father. He came back to live among his people, but he was no longer a Munduruci, any more than he was a Brazilian. When I first met Biboi, he addressed me in backwoods Portuguese and in a swaggering manner introduced himself as "Biboi, son of Caetano [the chief of Cabrua] and chief of Cabitutú." This contrasted markedly to the diffident and hesitating way in which most Munduruci addressed me, and

Like all people, the Mundurucú are, to an extent, prestige-seekers, but there are cultural differences in the coinage of status. The traditional culture placed no value upon material possessions, and, although this was slowly changing, Dibel's tastes were inordinate and clearly derived from his experience among the Brazilians. By thus violating a value standard set at the same time offended the entire community by self-consciously and openly trying to raise himself above his fellows.

Dibel not only misrecognized the ends of Mundurucú prestige but he also misunderstood the means to their attainment. The primary rule, and the one he most flagrantly violated, was that one should not seek prestige but let it come to him naturally. For example, bravery in war was highly valued but the posture of bravado was ridiculed. A coward was relegated to the lowest end of the status scale, but one who boasted of the damage he intended to inflict upon the enemy in the coming battle was ridiculed and placed in the vanguard of the attack. To obtain prestige a man should be modest and unassuming, while observing all the traditional expectations of what constitutes valued behavior. But primarily, he should act always as if he had only the collective well-being and goals in mind. Dibel's braggadocio, individualism, and competitiveness had violated every rule of the game, and he won only dislike and contempt, rather than the esteem and power he wanted so badly.

Disturbing though all this was to the delicate adjustment of Mundurucú social structure and customs though his behavior was to the values that bound this adjustment, Dibel had committed the cardinal error. He had allowed his grievances against certain individuals and groups to come out into the open and allegiances emerged for and against him that cut across both village and clan-linked role complements. Hostilities and latent factions are part of the tribal life of the Mundurucú, but they are carefully repressed--a requisite for the functioning of Mundurucú society. The average Mundurucú is well-trained in discipline, aggression and in preventing the blind face of neutrality, but Dibel's own actualization was in part derived from Brazilian and was not adjusted to the functional needs of the Indian society. Like any outcast, he had come to feel aggrieved. His error was in openly objecting to the offense against him, a normal course for a Brazilian outcast but not for a Mundurucú victim.

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Dibel's alienation from Mundurucú society induced severe anxiety and intensified his quest for a favorable identity. He sought this through his role of chief of the village of Cabitutu. The contemporary Mundurucú chieftainship must be understood as a boundary role. The dependency of the Indians on manufactured goods, obtained through the sale of wild rubber, has given the Brazilian traders a position of great influence among them, which they exercise through the chief. When the trader wants increased production he tells the chief, who then exhorts his followers to greater effort. Correspondingly, the chief acts as bargaining agent for the village in trade negotiations, and the people interpret his role to be in large part that of their representative to the outer world. If the trader is sufficiently well-established with a village, he can do much to influence the choice of a chief. But since he cannot completely control the patrilineal rule of inheritance of

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6.20 As chieftaincy, it is common practice to select one or two possible heirs and groom them in his household; this is what happened to Sibel. This is agreeable to the chief, for he gains the favour of the trader and, with it, preferential treatment in sales and purchases. It is clearly beneficial to the trader, as he hopes thereby to install a chief who will be responsive to his wishes, even at the expense of the Manbarum villagers.

The contemporary Manbarum chief is in a dilemma. If we look upon a boundary role as one in which both ends have to be played against the middle, we see the chief caught between the interests of the trader and those of his followers; these interests rarely coincide. It is a difficult position, but one that can be maintained by mutual adherence to the traditional behavior expected of chiefs and minimal responsiveness to the demands of the traders. Sibel's father, Cantano, played a comparatively successful role. If the trader told him that the villagers were heavily in debt to him, Cantano would communicate this fact and suggest that it would be well to collect more rubber; he never attempted even verbal coercion. He also sincerely sought to obtain the maximum return for his people.

6.21 Cantano embodied many characteristics of the traditional chief. An older man, he carried himself with a modest and unassuming dignity. He guided, persuaded and cajoled, but he carefully refrained from ordering people, and all decisions of communal significance were made in consultation with the mature men of the village. Beyond this, Cantano knew Manbarum traditional knowledge and lore and attempted to perpetuate it.

6.22 177 Sibel's position was very different from that of his father, for he was the prototype of the Indian boy who had been "educated" by a trader and later installed as a chief. He had no legitimate claim to the position, and it was necessary for the trader to insist that he would recognize only Sibel in dealings with Cantano. The residents grudgingly accepted, but they regarded him as chief only in trade relations. The most influential man of the village was, in reality, a renowned dancer who was the son of the last chief and was considered the legitimate heir to the office.

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6.23 559 [591] Sibel's precarious situation was made worse by the fact that he was under thirty years old and the junior of many men in the village. To complicate matters, he had no supporting group of kinsmen in Cantabuk. Patrilocality, I have said, is the normal mode of residence among the Manbarum, but the sons of chiefs generally remain with their fathers after marriage. From the point of view of conscious motivation, the sons of chiefs remain patrilocal because their fathers are influential enough to persuade men to relinquish their daughters to them as a means of solidifying relations with them. By the same line of reasoning, a young man who marries the daughter of a chief is willing to join a prestigeful father-in-law. But from the point of view of social structure, the function of the patrilocality of the chief's family is twofold. By keeping the sons, the chief is able to transmit authority to them without the discontinuity that would result if they were resident in the villages of their wives. Moreover, the chief is surrounded by a group of patrilineally related kin, a small and solitary patrilineage. His position is further enhanced by the fact that he has sons-in-law within the village. Both as this may reinforce his prestige, it does not enable him to exercise unilateral authority, for the rest of the

village men are ever watchful and jealous of the chiefly family and would be quick to resist, however passively, what they considered to be high-handedness. Bilel, however, did not have the surrounding group of relatives that may have given even minimal support to his claim to leadership. Rather, he depended upon the trader and his father and relatives in Cabrak to buttress his position.

Given his delicate status, Bilel proceeded to worsen it through a misinterpretation of the chieftaincy. He had listened to his father's nostalgic tales of the role of the chief in times past, and one might say that he had some knowledge, in a purely cognitive sense, of the traditional culture. It is highly dubious, however, that Bilel had internalized sufficient culture to make him an effective actor within the system of social relationships. Bilel knew that "in the old days, chiefs were powerful men who directed their people and bought goods for them." This view of the past may or may not have been true, but it surely did not apply to the present. Bilel, nonetheless, assumed at large that he was eminently qualified to be chief, as only he knew how to deal with the trader and only he had the force to tell the people how, when and where to work. I was a special recipient of this information, for Bilel found it most important to gain stature in the eyes of a prestigeful outsider. But Bilel also told all the others of his importance, and the people of Cabtabi stated that he indeed relayed the demands of the trader in forceful terms. His "followers" saw him solely as an agent of the trader in their village, and they were certain that his only function was to promote their exploitation and refreshment. Their analysis was correct, but I doubt that Bilel thought his role to be at all special. There is no evidence to substantiate this, for only he could tell me whether he was aware of the machinations of the trader, and he did not. But I believe that Bilel saw the trader as a father figure, many of whose values he had internalized and subscribed to as legitimate. And he also saw himself to be in the position of a strong and traditional leader.

Bilel had learned something else about the chiefs of times past, and this was the fact that many were polygynous. Polygyny was possible only for chiefs, for the matrilineality that applied to most of the population made it most difficult to have plural wives unless they were sisters. Even for a chief, however, polygyny was a difficult and stormy relationship, and it was evidently never of very great frequency.

Bilel did not have the implicit and unconscious ability to understand the fine points of Nunuruni social structure that a man raised in a village would have, and he made some of his most serious blunders in marriage. Soon after assuming the chieftaincy of Cabtabi, he married a woman of the village, a widow several years older than himself who, through the situational variability of post-marital residence, had a strong nucleus of kin in the village. Though I have no data upon which to make a firmer statement, it is quite probable that he married the woman--literally a crone--in order to enlist the sympathies of her relatives. But Bilel was a young, handsome and virile man, and he subsequently sought a wife more to his liking. He located a pretty girl of about sixteen years in the village of Dendyen and brought her home to Cabtabi. This enraged the first wife, who berated Bilel, assaulted the girl and complained to her brothers. The latter expressed their disapproval of the polygynous union to Bilel, and the rest of the village supported them. Bilel's general behavior and his exercise of his "chieftaincy" had already enraged them, and this

offense against his first wife, a native daughter of the village, was beyond their endurance. Bibai refused to divorce the new wife, to whom he was greatly attached, but took her to Cabruá where he left her in the care of his father. He validated his polygyny by pointing to the tradition that this was a prerogative of chiefs.

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This brings us through most of the key features of Mundurukú culture and social structure and to the point at which this paper began. And since this is in essence a tragic tale, we will see in this final section how the ring must inevitably close on Bibai. He had offended all the Mundurukú canons of taste and ethics and had become a source of strain in this small and tightly knit society. Now the forces of social control became operative and he felt the heavy pressure of his fellow men.

Having left his pretty bride in the safe confines of his father's house, Bibai returned to Cabitutá to set matters right and quiet the discontent. But he continued in his arrogant and demanding ways and the sentiments of the villagers became further inflamed, with no small assistance from his first wife and her family. There grew among them a firm determination to kill him, and the intention might have been immediately carried out were it not for his ties in Cabruá. This was an important collective decision by the residents of Cabitutá, for his execution would set off a train of repercussions that would seriously disrupt their relations with Cabruá and with the trader. Moreover, Bibai did not have shamanistic power and the usual post-hoc explanation for the killing of a deviant--that he was a perpetrator of black magic--could not be used in his case. But his continued presence was even more disruptive, and Bibai's life was placed in serious jeopardy.

In the meantime, the person of the young wife was not as secure as Bibai thought it would be. Her husband was away and she was a rather unpoised girl; whatever restitude she possessed was certainly no match for the insistent attempts upon her body by the men of Cabruá. Soon, all of the men of the village except those prohibited by incest regulations--and there were some exceptions even to this--were enjoying the favors of Bibai's young wife in the underbrush surrounding the village, on the stream, in the forest, in the gardens, or wherever they might find her alone. The enthusiasm of the men was understandable from her physical attractiveness, but there was another component to their attentions. Whenever they related their exploits to me, the men would express great satisfaction at what they were doing to Bibai, for the Cabruá men, too, disliked Bibai with some intensity. Even in his father's village his presence threatened the smooth tenor of social relations, and he was considered unbearably deviant. But physical reactions against Bibai would have been impossible in the village in which his father was a chief, and the men of Cabruá attacked his wife instead. There could be no doubt about the aggressive character of their seductions, nor of its success in dealing a mortal blow to Bibai's prestige by reducing him to a helpless butt of laughter.

Bibai soon heard of the events in Cabruá from members of his family and immediately returned. He made frontal accusations against many of the men and even questioned my Brazilian assistant (probably correctly) on being among those

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15. The complete lack of fertilization methods among the Indians of the Amazon forest is well known. It is only when fallow plots are burned that the depleted soil derives some fertilizing elements from the ashes.

has to seek new sites farther out and set up his gardens ever farther away, so that, after a certain period of time, the human group actually lives far from its source of subsistence, until the Indians themselves find transportation of the crops to their homes difficult. Then comes the time to move the village to another /28/ more favorable location. On such occasions, the original (and no doubt the most fitting) form of this reciprocal relation of garden and village becomes apparent.

When a move takes place and a new village is built, the latter lies in the center of the new garden plot of the tuxaua, or chief of the group. The traditional shape of the garden plot is rounded, as already mentioned. In the center of it, the plaza of the new village is cleared, also in rounded shape. Within it, the houses are laid out in a square: the men's house or shed (hahua), open in front to the east, with the house of the ancestral spirits (kadaba) alongside it; the oval houses for women and children (hah-a) to the right and left; and the square is closed with another hah-a on the east side, if need be.

/Figure 3 appears here./

The nucleus thus formed becomes a new center of the tribal group, of the clan or sib. The garden plot and the village thus form a unit, with the village standing within the first plot. In the years that /29/ follow, the garden plots expand outward. And if the soil is not suitable, the garden is moved farther out, ever farther, until, after a number of years, the need is felt to transfer the village and start all over again. Thus originate the cycles of intercommercial group migration.